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THE KASHUBS ON THE BALTIC

[Ed. Note : This paper was written before the German-Polish Pact of January, 1934, but was not published as long as the Nazi régime was true to its own principle of respect for nationality.]

THE question of the Kashubs (or Cassubes) is one of those which have arisen in recent times to complicate still further the already complicated issues between Germany and Poland. Certainly it could not have been called a question of lively interest before 1890, when the German authorities introduced into their census statistics a special classification for the "mother tongue" of the people, distinguishing in the eastern provinces between Germans, Poles, Kashubs and Mazurs.

Thus the Kashubs, given the status of a people separate from the Poles, acquired a new international importance which might not have been theirs if their geographical position had been less vital.¹ For they occupied in West Prussia, or Pomerellia, a narrow territory running northward, left of the Vistula, from the river Netze (Noteć) to the peninsula of Hela on the Baltic. This was land of Polish Pomorze (or sea-coast) taken from Poland by Frederick the Great in the First Partition. All its inhabitants, including the Kashubs, who were Catholics like the Poles, were subjected to the vigorous campaign of prussification carried out by Frederick and by his political disciples down to Prince von Bülow. But the Kashubs occupied a key position, for if they were truly of Polish race they expressed both the retention by the Polish race of a hold upon the Baltic littoral, and a geographical division between the Germans, east and west of Pomorze.

In fact, any clear proof that the Kashubs belonged to a separate race from the Poles would have to be of a scholarly character in the domain of anthropology or philology. So far as appearances go, the Kashubs were and are Slavs, speaking a Slav dialect very much like Polish, and preserving, in dress and customs, peculiarities of their own which can often be identified with the peculiarities of other Slav races to the south and east. The argument that the

¹ The German census of 1910 enumerated Kashubs in five districts: Putzig (Puck) 88 per cent.; Neustadt (Wejherowo) 93.5 per cent.; Karthaus (Kartuzy) 99 per cent.; Berent (Kościerzyna) 10.3 per cent.; Konitz (Chojnice), 11.2 per cent. This expresses the geographical distribution of the Kashubs, though the "bi-lingual" classification must be held to have created confusion. Polish authorities since the war state the distribution of Kashubs similarly: Puck, Wejherowo, Kartuzy, Western Kościerzyna, Northern Chojnice and the north-western part of the area of the Free City of Danzig. *Polskie Pomorze*, Torun, 1929. Vol. I. p. 181. Adam Fischer: *Zarys Etnograficzny*.

Kashubs are of the same race as the aboriginal Prussians has never been substantiated; and the argument that they are a last remnant of the Slavs from the Elbe still leaves open the question of their identity with the Poles.

I

Even after the German authorities introduced the separate classification of language for the Kashubs and asserted the existence of "bi-linguals," official publications continued to state a directly opposite point of view. "In 1906 the Regierungspräsident of Danzig reported that the majority of the Kashubs give their mother tongue as Polish. As for the future, the classification 'Kashubian' should perhaps be omitted in the census, for the facts are that Kashubian and Polish mean exactly the same thing."² This official statement was confirmed by an outstanding authority on Polish affairs within the Reich, Professor Ludwig Bernhard, who wrote of Kashubia:³ "All this is predominantly Polish land. From 60 per cent. to 70 per cent, and, in the heart of Kashubia, even 80 per cent. are Poles." Again, in his Introduction to Weber's book on *The Poles in Upper Silesia*,⁴ he drew this conclusion as to the question of language: "... This applies to the Mazurian and especially to the Kashubian languages. The close relationship of these languages with Polish complicates the census anyway." In the same spirit Franz Tetzner declared in his work on *The Slavs in Germany* that "Kashubian and Polish are the same, with some slight difference of pronunciation,"⁵ and Hermann Wünsch, who wrote his *Studies on the Peninsula of Hela* from investigations on the spot, noted that "the majority of the inhabitants of the peninsula, more than three-fourths of them, are of Polish nationality. They are annoyed when one calls them Kashubs."⁶

All the foregoing statements were written since the beginning of the modern controversy, and before the European War; but they express the same view as that of Frederick the Great, who, when writing to Domhardt, his financial agent in West Prussia,⁷ on 1 April, 1772, recognised that the inhabitants of that province were "principally of Polish nationality"; and he proposed to

² Preussische Statistik. Part 206. Chap. L, p. xxvii.

³ Bernhard. *Das Polnische Gemeinwesen im Preussischen Staat*. Leipzig. 1907, p. 362.

⁴ P. Weber. *Die Polen in Oberschlesien*. Berlin, 1934, p. vii.

⁵ Tetzner. *Die Slaven in Deutschland*, Braunschweig, 1902.

⁶ Dr. H. Wünsch. *Studien auf der Halbinsel Hela*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 45.

⁷ Preuss. *Friedrich der Grosse, Urkundenbuche*, Vol. V, p. 193. Berlin, 1834.

"mix them with Germans" so that they should appreciate the "benefits" of the new régime. Similarly, in 1813, the report of the Prussian headquarter staff on the *Organisation of the Landwehr* declared: "We had to do there with a country essentially different from other parts of the Prussian State, since more than half of the inhabitants were non-Germans. Many of the small towns and the surrounding lowlands were occupied entirely by Poles. Here the Polish language was predominant, especially in the districts of Dirschau, Stargard, Konitz, and Cammin; at Deutschkrone the German language predominated. In this region not only the common people but most of the great landowners were of Polish nationality. Beyond its language, this part of the population had preserved peculiarities characteristically Polish, above all the desire for a united and independent Poland." Similarly, again, the great Bismarck, who knew his Pomerania and the Kashubs well, regarded them equally as of Slav race and of Polish nationality.

Bismarck was, indeed, emphatic on the point. In his youth he often visited Kniephof and Jarchelin, in the neighbourhood of Neugard. His wife was brought up at Reinfeld, where were the "pagan" Kashubs (as he wrote in contempt); "close to Poland. In Butow, the nearest town, one hears in the night how the wolves and the Kashubs howl."⁸ He had no notion of regarding the Kashubs indulgently as aboriginal Prussians or as a race distinct from the Poles in any of his writings or political measures; and Kashubs were under the same rubric as Poles when he wrote in a letter to his sister: "Beat down the Poles . . . there is nothing else for us to do but to exterminate them (*ausrotten*). It is not the fault of a wolf that God has made him what he is, yet everybody does his best to kill him."⁹ Bismarck was morbidly aware throughout his political life that Pomorze, the province of the Kashubs, was peopled by a race Polish in speech and sympathy. The campaign against Polish culture was carried on in Puck, Wejherowo, Kartuzy, Kościerzyna and Chojnice no less vigorously than elsewhere.

II

Leaving aside modern documents altogether, it is possible to trace from the earliest chronicles the same continued tradition that the Baltic shore of Pomorze was settled by Slavs and, in a series of later writings, that there were no great differences between these Slavs and the Poles of the interior. In the 9th

⁸ The date of Bismarck's letter is 11 March, 1847.

⁹ *Bismarcksbriefe*, 1836-1872, 1897, 210.

century, the Anglo-Saxon traveller, Wulfstan,¹⁰ coasted for seven days and nights from Schleswig along the shore belonging to the country of the Wends, or Slavs. Only after sailing past the mouth of the Vistula did he find the territory of another race, the Prussians, who were of Lithuanian stock. The oldest Russian chronicle, the Chronicle of Kiev, describes the Baltic Slavs for the first time as "Pomorianie"¹¹; and in the first paragraph of the chronicle the statement occurs that the Lechi (the Ruthenian name for Poles) were settled along the Baltic side by side with the Prussians and the Tchudi (Finns). The chronicle goes on to enumerate the subdivisions of the Lechi.¹² "The Slavs of the Vistula call themselves Lechi, and of those Lechi, some call themselves Polans, others Lutyczans, others Mazovians, others Pomeranians."

In the 11th century, Adam of Bremen remarks that the people of Pomorze do not differentiate themselves from the Poles in dress, language or custom. Among the Poles, neither the chronicle of Great Poland nor early writers, such as Górnicki, say anything of a distinction between the two peoples. In 1339 Archdeacon Matthias of Płock writes: "One and the same speech rules both in Pomorze and in Poland, because all the people living there speak Polish."¹³ The German scholar, Lorenz, commenting on this passage, would have it refer only to the language used by the Church for preaching, but he adds: "Besides, the Polish and Kashubian languages were then very similar in sound."¹⁴ This is an important statement on the nature of the language of Pomorze during the 14th century, for one might have expected radical influences upon it from the Danish settlement at Jomburg in the 10th century, or from the Danes called in as allies by Boleslas Wry-Mouth in the 12th century.¹⁵ The Danish chronicles of the 13th century still describe Pomorze simply as Polonia.¹⁶

It must be said, then, that up to the end of the 13th century

¹⁰ Tymieniecki. *History of Polish Pomerania*. Poznan, 1929, p. 12.

¹¹ Tymieniecki. *Op cit.*, p. 12. "Pomorianie" has a Slav form and the meaning "dwellers by the sea." This was explained in the 12th century by the German chronicler Helmold; and the Polish chronicler Vincent Kadłubek (13th century) called them *Maritimi*. So today, Pomorze means in Polish "by the sea," but Pommern is without meaning in German. Again the Polish river-name "Noteć" means "does not flow" but "Netze" is a variant nameless in German. The question of place names becomes of great importance in this investigation.

¹² *Mon. Pol.*, I, 553. Tymieniecki, p. 13.

¹³ Sobieski. *Walka o pomorze*, p. 28.

¹⁴ Lorenz. *Geschichte der Kaschuben*, p. 170.

¹⁵ Dyboski, *Outlines of Polish History*, p. 19.

¹⁶ *Polskie Pomorze*. Edited by Józef Borowik, Toruń, 1929, p. 186.

the people of Pomorze were regarded by themselves and by others as of the same race and language as the people of Great Poland in the interior. Even during the period 1308-1464, when the Teutonic Order had possession of the territory, and when a number of law-suits were instituted at Rome and elsewhere to obtain a ruling that the Order had gained its possession by usurpation, the Polish plea was based upon arguments of ethnography and language which were quite remarkable in the Middle Ages.¹⁷ The Cracow professor, Paul Włodkowicz, presented a thesis to the Council of Constance, arguing for the return of Pomorze, Chełmno and Michalow on grounds of international law. At Rome, in 1422, the Poles showed a map to the Pope, on which Pomorze was included within the national boundaries.¹⁸ When the case was heard before the papal delegate Antonio Zeno in 1422, the Poles used the argument of racial kinship between the peoples of Pomorze and of Poland. In 1464, during the negotiations for the second Treaty of Toruń, the Polish plenipotentiary Jacob of Szadek set forth a series of points for which he has been described as the first of the theoreticians of the principle of nationality. For instance:¹⁹ "Pomerania, the lands of Chełmno and of Michalow, were inhabited and ruled by Poles, who gave names in their own tongue to mountains, streams, towns, and villages, long before the Teutonic Order existed. . . . As a result of the position and the geographical configuration of these provinces they have of necessity, and from all time, been part of the Polish realm." And after the territory had been restored by treaty, we find this statement on the Polish side:²⁰

"The lands of Pomorze, Chełmno and Michalow have been in the possession of the Polish nation since the earliest times. The Polish nation was first to cultivate, to inhabit and to populate them, to found towns and villages, to mark the boundaries of fortresses, towns, villages, rivers, mountains, fields and forests, and to give them Polish names existing to this day; for the same nation also cultivates and inhabits these lands now." From 1464 to 1772, Pomorze was recognised to be Polish territory.

III

Historical documents of all times show by common consent that the people known as Kashubs, in the five districts of western Pomorze, are Slavs by race, and Slavs of a type very closely akin

¹⁷ Tymieniecki. *Op cit.*, p. 40, pp. 51-2.

¹⁸ Sobieski, *op cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁹ *La Pologne et la Baltique*, p. 227.

²⁰ Sobieski, *op cit.* *Script. rer. Prussic*, V, 237.

to the Poles of the interior ; so closely akin as to have been popularly confounded with them. It has been left for modern scholars to stress the differences which do undoubtedly exist between the two types, and for modern statesmen to give those differences a political value. A glance at a map will provide clues to historical processes which have preserved the individual characteristics of these people and yet brought them into close unity with the Poles. In the first place, the wide and marshy valley of the Noteć is a barrier between Poznań to the south, the cradle of Polish civilisation, and the Kashubian lands to the north. Similarly, from the west of the Kashubian lands flow a number of small streams north-west into the Baltic, making a line of division from the valley of the Vistula, which gave different historical destinies to Pomerania of the Oder, with Stettin as its capital, and to Pomerania of the Vistula (Pomorze) with Danzig as its capital. This same line afterwards became the frontier division between Poland and the Empire.²¹ So much for the factors of isolation. On the other hand, there is a passage from south to north by the narrow neck of land between the Noteć and the Vistula, where Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) stands. Moreover, the Vistula itself is an avenue for Polish influences, no less than for Polish produce, which overflows inevitably into Pomorze. This unity was recognised by the Ministers of Frederick II in 1772 ; when they reported on the claims which he might put forward to Pomorze : “Votre Majesté verra par ce mémoire que les prétentions de la maison de Brandebourg sur la Pologne ne sont ni importantes ni fortes.”²²

Before we go on to discuss more closely the Kashubs as they are today, some attention must be given to the name by which they are known. It will be noticed that no one of the medieval documents already quoted makes reference to Kashubs, but only to Pomorzans or Pomeranians. There is, in fact, no trace of the name “Kashub” as applied to these people during the early Middle Ages ; and just as Wunsch noted of the people of the Hela peninsula that they were annoyed when called Kashubs, so also one of the most famous Kashubs of the last century, Florjan Cejnowa, regarded the name as something foreign.²³ It appears that the descendants of colonists from Pomorze imported into the heart of Poland by

²¹ In this essay the word Pomorze has been confined to the territory of the Vistula, the present Polish Pomorze, to distinguish it from the Pomerania which is prescriptively German. The German forms, Pomerellia or West Prussia, would mean the same.

²² *Politische Korrespondenz Friedrichs des Grossen*, T. xxx, 487.

²³ Sobieski, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Boleslas Wry-Mouth in the 12th century are still known as Pomorzans, not as Kashubs.²⁴

In the Middle Ages the terms *Cassubia*, *Cassubitae*, *Cassubae*, *Cassubi*²⁵ were used by chroniclers, but applied to a district embracing the (prescriptively German) Pomeranian towns of Belgard, Kolberg, Koslin, Bublitz, and Neustettin around the river Persant, with the Duchy of the Wends, around Stolp, Pollnow and Rummelsberg between it and Pomorze.²⁶ With the title of Duke of the Kashubs and Wends, used for instance by the Kings of Prussia,²⁷ the name of the Kashubs seems to have travelled eastward and to have been applied to the Pomorzans. The Polish historian Duda holds that it came into Pomorze by devious ways in the 15th century.²⁸ Koblischke, a German, writing before the Great War, says that it was always applied in the Pomerania of Stettin and that it was not applied in Pomorze until after the annexation by Prussia.²⁹ The Polish historian Kętrzynski, again, went through the old archives of Danzig without finding a trace of the word Kashub.³⁰ So there is less reason to regard the modern Kashubs as a tribe historically distinct from the Poles, if the very name Kashub given to them is in itself unhistorical. But there is no reason to make too fine a distinction here. The name serves to describe one of the peoples of Pomorze, it has been more or less accepted by them, and it has acquired a new history of its own with which we have now to deal.

IV

The Kashubs are a peasant stock engaged in fishing, agriculture and cottage industries, and numbering about 155,000 since the

²⁴ Sobieski, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

²⁵ *Polskie Pomorze*, p. 186. The 13th century "Chronicle of Boguchwal," ascribes the name to the national costume, a long robe which fell in folds. "Est quaedam gens slavonica, quae Cassubitae dicuntur; et hi a longitudine et latitudine vestium, quas plicare ipsos propter earum latitudinem et longitudinem oportebat, sunt appellati. Nam huba in slavonico plica seu ruga vestium dicitur, unde Casshubii, id est plica rugas interpretantur." *Idem*. It is interesting that various sub-tribes among the Kashubs are similarly described by clothes today: the Karwatki, from their long caftan or *karwatka*; the Kidlonie, from their cloak or *kidlon*. *Idem*.

²⁶ Baginski, *Zagadnienie Dostępu Polski do Morza*, p. 70.

²⁷ *Idem*, p. 70.

²⁸ Sobieski, *op. cit.* 29. Fr. Duda. *Rozwój terytorjalny Pomorza polskiego*. Kraków, 1909.

²⁹ *La Pologne et la Baltique*, p. 259. Koblischke, *Mitteilungen Vereins für kaschubische Volkskunde*. Danzig, 1910.

³⁰ *La Pologne et la Baltique*, p. 259. *Ziemia* (periodical), Warsaw, 1911, p. 352.

restoration of Pomorze to Poland.³¹ Modern scholars divide the whole population of Pomorze into four main groups of Slavs: the Pomorzans, to whom the Kashubs belong; the group of Great Poland, to which the Borowiaks and Krajnowiaks belong; the Kujavians, who include the Kociewiaks, the Chelmniaks and the Lubowiaks; and the Mazurs.³² All these peoples have again their own special peculiarities, so that if to the differences between them is to be given the importance of separate nationalities, the classification should be carried beyond the Kashubs of the Baltic coast and the Mazurs of the East Prussian border. Moreover, the Kashubs themselves sub-divide into tribes which take their Slav names from some special dress or custom, so that there is perhaps as much reason to notice differences between Kashub and Kashub as there is between Kashub and Pole. Lorenz divides the Kashub dialects into two main groups, of north and south, with four sub-dialects in the first and eight in the second.³³ But this is typical of the whole of Poland, where the peasants are proud to retain localisms of name, dress and custom without otherwise drawing apart from the nation as a whole.

The particularism of the Kashubs, already explained geographically, has always shown itself. Resisting Christianity for a longer time than the Poles of Poznań, they clung to their Slav gods, and saw in the new faith a German religion. The permanent establishment of Christianity came to them under the Polish influence of the bishopric of Kujawia, the see of Kruszwica, and later that of Włocławek, set up in the 12th century, which endured until it was joined to the diocese of Chełmno (Kulm) by Pius VII in the year 1818.³⁴ Unlike the other Slavs of Pomerania, they resisted Germanisation and the German movement of the Reformation.

Consequently, their language has been judged a relic of the original Slav speech which once obtained from the Elbe to the Vistula. Unlike Polabian,³⁵ it has survived, and in close connection politically and ecclesiastically with continental Polish. Because

³¹ This is the figure for 1926 (154,858) calculated by the French scholar A. Meillet (*Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*, Paris, 1928, pp. 417-18). There must since have been some natural increase. He bases his estimate upon the calculation of the German census for 1910 (107,532 within the boundaries of present Pomorze) as corrected by Lorenz (*Geschichte der pomeranischen Sprache*, 1925, p. 2) who makes the true figure for 1910 about 140,000.

³² Eugenjusz Frankowski in *Kronika o Polskiem Morzu*, Warsaw, 1930, p. 65.

³³ Cf. Fischer. *Polskie Pomorze*, p. 182.

³⁴ *La Pologne et la Baltique*, p. 219.

³⁵ Polabian, an extinct Slav speech, of which only a few texts and vocabularies remain as relics, lingered on the lower Elbe until the beginning of the 18th century.

Kashubian is a Slav speech of logical development, it has been described by Baudoin de Courtenay as "more Polish than Polish itself." Similarly, Biskupski and Poblocki, in their Kashubian dictionaries, call the Kashubian language "a Polish fragment" and "an ancient Polish tongue."³⁶ Schleicher states that Kashubian stands as a bridge between the West Lechite (Polabian) and East Lechite (Polish).³⁷ Nitsch, who has published many studies on Polish dialects, divides them as a whole into two main groups: Pomorzan Polish (Kashub) and continental Polish.³⁸ Of scholars who have closely investigated the question of the Kashubs, only Ramułt would call the group of dialects represented by Polabian, Slovince and Kashubian a Pomorzan language distinct from Polish; while Lorenz holds Kashubian of the present day to be not only distinct from Polish but distinct also from primitive Kashubian.³⁹

It would not be possible in this short account to enter deeply into the linguistic peculiarities of Kashub speech, but as the question has been raised whether or not it is a language distinct from Polish, and as the English reader cannot be expected to have a knowledge of either Polish or Kashubian, it will be useful to cite Kashubian texts side by side with the same sentences written in modern literary Polish.

The following is from Florjan Cejnowa, the famous author to whom we shall return below :

Ju je wielgi czas, abe zoden Kaszeba nie wstedeł sę po Kaszebsku gadac, bo chteren to roby, ten gwesno nigdy nie pomesłoł, że on je zbójca przeciwko swojemu całemu narodowi. 'E swinia zabeła, ze prosięce beła.' Przeklętym beł, je e będzie na wieczne czase, co nie czci swoich starszczech, jejich mowe, a trze razy przeklęty, chto sę wstedi swoji mowe macerzyńskij.

In current Polish this passage would read thus :

Już jest wielki czas, aby żaden Kaszuba nie wstydził się po Kaszubsku gadać, bo który to robi, ten pewno nigdy nie pomyślał, że on jest zbójcą przeciwko swojemu całemu narodowi. 'I swinia zapomniała, że prosięciem była.' Przeklętym był, jest i będzie na wieczne czasy ten, co nie czci swoich starszych, i ich mowy, trzy razy przeklęty kto się wstydzi swojej mowy macierzyńskiej.

³⁶ Bagiński, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

³⁷ A. Schleicher. *Laut und Formenlehre der polabischen Sprache*. Petersburg, 1871, p. 17.

³⁸ *Polskie Pomorze*, p. 185.

³⁹ Ramułt in *Słownik języka pomorskiego czyli kaszubskiego*. Kraków, 1893.

The following verse is written by a poet of the younger Kaszubian school, Woś Budzysz :

‘ JÓ jeim lud ’ i służe sobie,
Bo żem uczuł Ducha wiew,
JÓ jeim Kaszub dównym rodem,
Od dzus swójsci zacznę spiew.

In current Polish these lines would look thus :

‘ Ja jestem lud ’ i służe sobie,
Bo żem uczuł Ducha wiew,
Ja jestem Kaszub dawnym rodem
Od dziś swojski zacznę spiew.

As we see the two languages side by side, it is difficult to do more than echo the words of Brückner : “ That is not Polish ? So one may believe, but a faith like that would have to move mountains.”⁴⁰

Differences which become of importance only in scientific investigations into anthropology, ethnology and philology serve merely to obscure the larger common-sense issues, that the Kashub people speak a language easily understood by the Poles, that their manners and customs are either Polish or of the Slav world,⁴¹ that they are at one with Poland in political history and religion, that their national expression has been identified, more especially since the Partitions, with the national expression of Poland.

So it is all the more to be noted, after we have stated the factors making for isolation and differentiation in the people of Pomorze, that these factors have separated them most of all from the Germans and Slavs of Stettin-Pomerania, or from the Germans and Prussians of East Prussia. During the period of the Partitions the Kashub districts of Pomorze sent Polish delegates to the Reichstag without any exception. More than that, the electoral districts Kartuzy-Wejherowo-Puck, Kościerzyna-Starogard-Tczew, and Chojnice-Tuchola were the only three in which the Poles should rely upon their own deputy being returned.⁴² There was never among the

⁴⁰ Brückner, *Dzieje języka polskiego*, Lwow, 1906, p. 173. The quotations are taken from the review of Kaszub literature by Władisław Pniewski in *Rocznik Gdanski*, 1928-29, pp. 128, 139.

⁴¹ Methods and instruments of fishing, of bee-keeping and of agriculture among the Kashubs relate them to other Slavs of the south and east. The wooden houses with deep porches are common to the whole Slav world. So also the decorated furniture, embroideries, etc., are similar to the Polish. Typically Polish double pots for food, *dwójaki*, used throughout Poland by the peasants, are also found in Pomorze, and methods of preparing food are the same. (Adam Fischer. *Przeciw Propagandzie Korytarzowej*, Toruń, 1930.)

⁴² Tymieniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

Kashubs any attempt to gain for themselves a separate representation, nor did a Kashub party make its appearance. Nevertheless, during the 19th century, Kashub patriotism was strongly developed and expressed itself, quite apart from the opposition in common with the Poles against Prussian policies, in a Kashubian literary movement. Before that period, practically the only writings in the Pomorzan dialect were Lutheran tracts of the 16th and 17th centuries, but these were rather in Church-Kashubian, the language of their hymns and mystery plays which is very near to literary Polish,⁴³ forming thus another link between the Kashubs and the Poles.

The later literary movement began with Florjan Cejnowa (b. 1817) the son of a peasant of Slawoszyn, in the district of Puck. In 1848 he organised the Kashubs in an attempt to disarm the Prussian garrison at Starogard. Afterwards he embarked upon a career as a writer, using the tongue of his native village as the basis for a literary language. Cejnowa was so much concerned with the Kashubs as a Slav race that he turned towards Russia and Pan-Slavism, even to the point of adopting the Cyrillic alphabet. His successor in reputation was Jarosz Derdowski (b. 1852) of Wiel, in Chojnice, who adopted Kashubian of the south for his poems, in which he expressed himself as a Polish nationalist. His attitude was summed up in the lines,

Niema Kaszeb bez Poloni,
A bez Kaszeb Polsci.⁴⁴

With Alexander Majkowski (b. 1876) of Koscierzyna, and his young Kashubian movement, which is still going on, there begins a spirit of a new kind. It equally opposes the Russophil Slavism of Cejnowa and the tendency of Derdowski to look upon Kashubian merely as a dialect of Polish. Majkowski gave it a focus when he brought out the Kashubian periodical "Družba" as a supplement to the *Gazeta Gdańska*, in 1906, and again when he founded the better-known paper *Gryf* in 1909. His disciples are Polish nationalists, but they wish to restore Kashubian to the position of a native speech with its own literature. Besides writing plays, novels and poems in their own dialects they have made many valuable researches into Kashub speech and folk-lore. There is among them no idea of separatism from Poland.

⁴³ Dr. Władysław Pniewski. *Rocznik Gdański*, 1928-9. Danzig, p. 126.

⁴⁴ "No Kashubs without Poland, no Poland without Kashubs."

GREGORY MACDONALD.